

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
TRSE-00 /073 W

-----124181 121603Z /44

O R 121455Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8499
INFO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION NATO
CINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 6060

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, CY, TU, US
SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR

REF: (A) STATE 190606 (DTG 120017Z AUG 77), (B) STATE 190561
(DTG 112249Z AUG 77)

1. POL COUNS CALLED ON MFA CYPRUS-GREECE DIRGEN TULUMEN
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AUGUST 12 TO CONVEY U.S. POSITION ON ISSUE OF RECOGNITION OF
MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR. FOLLOWING INITIAL PRESENTATION AND
DISCUSSION, PARA 1 OF REF B AND SUBSTANCE OF PARA 1
REF A WERE READ ALOUD TO TULUMEN AT DICTATION SPEED SO THAT
HE COULD COPY. TULUMEN AT FIRST WANTED TO INTERPRET U.S.
POSITION AS SIMPLY INDICATING THAT THE U.S. WAS HAVING
DIFFICULTIES ACCEPTING THE GOT POSITION. POL COUNS

EMPHATICALLY AND REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT THE U.S. POSITION WAS FIRM AND FINAL AND THAT THE GOT WOULD GAIN NOTHING BY TRYING TO CHANGE IT. TULUMEN SAID THAT HE WAS VERY SORRY THAT WE HAD TAKEN SUCH A POSITION, BECAUSE THE GOT POSITION WAS ITSELF A VERY STRONG ONE, WITH THE FONMIN HAVING PUBLICLY COMMITTED HIMSELF AND THE GOVERNMENT ON THE MATTER. ACCORDINGLY, TULUMEN SAID, HE WAS RECEIVING OUR STATEMENT ONLY "UNOFFICIALLY". HE ANTICIPATED THAT THE FONMIN OR THE PRIMIN WOULD WANT TO STATE THE GOT'S POSITION DIRECTLY TO THE AMBASSADOR. IN THE MEANTIME, IF THE FONMIN, BY WAY OF PREPARATION, ASKED HIM IF HIS CONTACTS WITH THE U.S. HAD PRODUCED ANY REACTION, HE WOULD PROVIDE THIS INFORMATION, BUT HE WOULD NOT VOLUNTEER IT. POL COUNS RESPONDED THAT THE CLEAR MEANING OF THE U.S. POSITION WAS THAT FURTHER RESTATEMENT OF THE TURKISH POSITION AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE U.S. ATTITUDE WOULD NOT BE WORTHWHILE. TULUMEN SAID THAT HE, OF COURSE, COULD NOT PREDICT THE DECISION OF HIS MINISTER, BUT HE BELIEVED THAT THE MINISTER CONSIDERED THE MATTER SO IMPORTANT THAT HE WOULD WANT TO MAKE A TRY HIMSELF AND MEANWHILE GIVE THE U.S. TIME TO CHANGE ITS MIND.

2. IN PRESENTING THE U.S. POSITION TO TULUMEN, POL COUNS DID NOT MAKE THE FOUR POINTS LISTED IN PARA 2 REF A. THESE POINTS, IN OUR VIEW, DO NOT MEET OUR PRIMARY NEED FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE LEGAL AND OTHER REASONING BEHIND THE U.S. POSITION. RATHER, THEY WOULD ALMOST
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CERTAINLY PROVOKE FRUITLESS CONTENTION. ADDITIONALLY, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE POINTS AS PRESENTLY WORDED MIGHT STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THOSE ELEMENTS IN THE GOT THAT FAVOR A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI) BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. A PRINCIPAL DANGER IMPLICIT IN THE DISPUTE OVER RECOGNITION IS THAT THE TURKS MIGHT WORK THEMSELVES INTO A POSITION IN WHICH UDI BECOMES A MUCH MORE ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVE, ESPECIALLY IF THE GOT LEADERS ARE PUT INTO A SITUATION WHERE THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BY IT.

3. IF WE ARE TO REPRESENT THE U.S. POSITION EFFECTIVELY ON THIS MATTER AND REDUCE THE RISK OF IRRATIONAL ACTION, WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT TO THE TURKS A FULLY REASONED EXPLANATION OF OUR POSITION WHICH GIVES ADEQUATE EVIDENCE OF AN ATTEMPT TO GIVE SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION TO THEIR ARGUMENTS.

4. WE SUGGEST THAT THIS EXPLANATION MIGHT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENTAL RECOGNITION DOES NOT ARISE FOR THE U.S. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS THE RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR AS THE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. UNTIL MAKARIOS' DEATH

WE ACCORDED HIM SUCH RECOGNITION.

B. TO DENY SUCH RECOGNITION TO HIS SUCCESSOR WOULD IMPLY EITHER A JUDGMENT THAT MAKARIOS' POST-1964 ELECTIONS WERE SOMEHOW MORE CONSTITUTIONAL THAN HIS SUCCESSOR'S ELECTION, OR AN ASSERTION THAT THE U.S. WAS MISTAKEN IN RECOGNIZING MAKARIOS, SINCE NO LEGAL OR CONSTITUTIONAL FACTORS HAVE CHANGED SINCE THE LAST ELECTION.

C. WE ARE AWARE THAT THE GOT CONSIDERS THE CYPRUS CONSTITUTION TO HAVE BEEN INVALIDATED BY ACTIONS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AND THAT SOME ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION ARE NOT CURRENTLY BEING OBSERVED. WE NOTE THAT THE OTHER TWO GUARANTOR POWERS, AS WELL AS THE MAJORITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, HAVE NOT CHALLENGED THE VALIDITY OF THE CONSTITUTION. IN THIS SITUATION, THE U.S. SEES NO BASIS FOR
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CHANGING ITS OWN POSITION AT THIS JUNCTION SIMPLY BECAUSE OF MAKARIOS' DEATH.

D. FOR 17 YEARS, THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS HAS BEEN ACCORDED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. FOR MORE THAN 13 YEARS OF THAT PERIOD, INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION HAS BEEN MAINTAINED DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF INTERCOMMUNAL CONFLICT AND THE NON-APPLICATION OF SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION. DUE WEIGHT HAS TO BE GIVEN TO THIS ESTABLISHED PRACTICE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8500

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 6060

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE HELD DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE ISSUE OF THE LEGITIMACY OF MAKARIOS' POSITION AS PRESIDENT. WE HAVE, IN EFFECT, AGREED TO DISAGREE. WE WOULD HOPE NOW TO AVOID THIS ESCALATING INTO AN ISSUE WHICH WOULD IMPEDE POSSIBLE PROGRESS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

F. ASIDE FROM LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS, WE ARE COMPELLED TO TAKE NOTE OF THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES THAT WOULD FLOW
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FROM ANY U.S. EFFORT TO ALTER THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF RECOGNITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. SUCH A CHANGE WOULD BE SUBJECT TO WIDESPREAD INTERPRETATION AS A MAJOR SHIFT IN THE U.S. POSITION THAT COULD NOT BE EXPLAINED OR JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF A CHANGE IN THE LEGAL OR CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.

5. WE HOPE THAT THE DEPARTMENT WILL BE ABLE TO EXPAND AND IMPROVE ON THE ABOVE SUGGESTIONS.
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